1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

place. At twilight they surround the *rewe*, while the *machi* sings and prays to the good spirits that act as her familiars. Food is then served and the assemblage retires for the night. Early in the morning lengthy prayers are recited, and a lamb is sacrificed. Some of the blood is daubed on the *machi*'s cheeks, the rest is offered to the good spirits, and the flesh is cooked and served in a sort of communion breakfast. There follows a program of prayers, songs, and dances, to the accompaniment of *trutrukas*, *llollkins*, *kul·truñs*, and *pifullkas*. At intervals the *machi* climbs her *rewe* to engage in solitary prayer (see Pl. VIII). As the afternoon progresses the *rewe* is redecorated with sprigs of cinnamon and ginger, and the celebration concludes with a hearty feast.[22] It is widely held that a *machi*'s power will fail and her following diminish unless she is willing to go to the trouble and expense of holding an annual *ñeikurewen*. Apart from this function and the staging of *machituns*, a *machi* is expected to dream and play her *kul·truñ*, to conduct the *ñillatun* rites described in the next chapter, to interpret dreams and omens, and to pray for victory during important hockey matches.[23]

[22] Although I was not privileged to attend a *ñeikurewen*, I could hear the songs and shouts raised at a celebration while I was living in Carrarriñe. On the next day I purposely walked past the *machi*'s house and saw her freshly decorated *rewe*, to which a small Chilean flag had been affixed.

[23] Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 750–51.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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over outstretched arms they made little pretense at costuming or bird mimicry. In rather perfunctory fashion they danced eastward toward the altar and back again four(?) times. Meanwhile, a large contingent of mounted men, with standard-bearers in the front rank, lined up in rows of four and began to gallop around the prayer ground in the characteristic style of the *awn*. Several of the men blew on *pifullkas* as they went, but the riders did not keep their ranks even and made a ragged impression.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the two girls and four boys had resumed their dancing forward and back, a man with a knife came from the crowd of watchers, the sheep was untied and led to the altar, and the man slit its throat and skillfully skinned and cut it up. The blood was caught in a pan, and afterward disposed of in running water so that no dog could get it, and the sheepskin was hung on the altar.

Next, the *machi* and her assistants rose, while the bystanders lined up in closely packed ranks and began to dance to and away from the altar. People of all ages and both sexes were tightly pressed together and, to add to the confusion, men on horseback mingled with those on foot. After a few formations in several directions the dancing stopped and all went to lunch. Again, as at Coigue, masculine visitors were invited to form a line and were first greeted and then fed by men of the sponsoring reservation.

There was a long rest after lunch, and the sun was beginning to set when the mass dancing started once more, with the *machi* and her assistants in the front line (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2). This time the group went the length of the hockey field from the main altar at the east to the secondary altar at the west. At one point Juan Antinao remarked that this represented a symbolic sowing of the playing ground. A very tentative suggestion is that this may indicate that hockey, which was once connected with war, is coming to be associated, as is elsewhere the case, with agriculture.

Daylight was fading when the ceremony ended and we started

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 727 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[722] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organization became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each ruka. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal toqui.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the cases or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 blood specimens or of the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Drimys winteri* wood, which gives dense fumes; keeping the body on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, drank toasts to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; much feasting and chicha drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, to which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in dugout-canoe shape, covered with a similar inverted dugout or heavy planking; in more recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a dug grave, was formerly as a rule on the surface. Adornments and belongings, according to the sex of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or rocks. An alternative method, reported by González de Nájera (1889, p. 50) for caciques, was to place the covered dugout coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked posts.

•[782] Since as early at least as the second half of the 18th century (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 140; McClafferty, 1932, pp. 47-48), horses were killed over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from Smith, 1855, p. 172), and a lance with an attached banderole implanted upright in the ground. In the *Huilliche* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 153, *top, left*) (Smith, 1855, p. 209; Moesbach, 1936, p. 405).

There is no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:163). There is archeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapuche-Huilliche* territory (Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 211–12, 235; 1929 b, pp. 765–66; 1928 b, pp. 206–7, figs. 5–6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

[765] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 272–300.)

774 **Concept of soul and future life.**—The human soul or spirit was called pelli (pelli, pulli), am, alwe, lelfi, aiwiñ. Such differences of meaning

5:Cooper E.-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

RELIGION

Mapuche-Huilliche religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillañ cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

Theism.—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were ɣənéchen (master of men) and ɣənémapun (master of the land). Another form of address was chau (father), but he was ambisexually addressed as rey chau (king father) and rey kushe (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man ɣənéchen," "Young Woman ɣənéchen," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces ɣənéchen (ɣənémapun)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanos and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being could be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public ɣillatun, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices. The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Domeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1864, p. 147, Argentine *Araucanians*; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 522, offering to spirits.)

On the public rite, the ɣillatun, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1898, pp. 268–69; 1908, pp. 303–10;

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The trenchant Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pilláns.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñan, pp. 155-156. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 28).

46 Olaverría, p. 23.

47 Nájera, p. 60.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

776 spoken of as wenumapu—a word used also when speaking of sky, celestial regions, heaven. Several informants thought the abode might be the place called pillañ, but an old Panguipulli man was certain that it was not there. "God is in wenumapu," he insisted; "in pillañ are the deceased prophets, the old women who used to beat the kultruŋ in the ŋillatun, and other good persons. Pillañ is in all the volcanoes around here [Andes]." (Cf. also p. 166.)

There was no belief that deities of minor importance lived in animals, plants, or minerals. Quoting an Alepúe man: "We believed in one God in heaven, always, even in our old religion before we knew of Christianity; we prayed to no animals, nor to the sun—the sun is a natural thing. Nor did we think that there were spirits in trees or rocks or water." "The Mapuche in early days believed in the true God," said a Cofiaripe informant; "they prayed to Him in the ŋillatun; it was the same God we pray to today. Those who write about us today say that we did pray to other beings than God, but we Mapuche know that we did not."

PRIVATE PERSONAL PRAYER, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Not only do persons offer prayers as individuals, apart from group prayer, but on occasions, one or several persons make minor sacrificial offerings jointly with private prayer. When thunder and lightning occur in the daytime, someone in the ruka will throw a handful of wheat or corn either onto the fireside or on hot coals that have been removed to the outside of the ruka. "I put mine in an olla and set it outdoors, and say, 'Fei, chau' [here, God], which means, 'God be merciful to us,' or, 'God, I offer this to You so that this storm will pass by without injuring anyone.'" The offering is made only once during a thunderstorm and is not made at night. School boys and girls 11 to 15 years of age had made the offering; those 8 and 9 years old had not.

When a 4-footed animal is slaughtered, the one doing so will sprinkle a little of the blood heavenward and say a prayer for an increase in his herd and flocks. "I saw my father take the steaming blood of a cow and sprinkle it toward heaven as an offering to God. This done, he went on with the slaughtering." Old persons in Panguipulli area still throw a spoonful of broth or stew or a little piece of any prepared food on the fire before beginning a meal: "It is like a prayer of thanksgiving for what we have, and of asking for that which we may still need." This custom was not known to Alepúe informants.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

796 pərun, a hopping, staccato step, is like the movement of the hands of a clock, only counterclockwise—those nearest the pərufe barely move, 535 while those farthest away move fastest. The men blow their pifəlka, the machi beat their kultruŋ, and the men blow their trutruka—all of them together furnishing the rhythm for the step of the dance.

(At this point the informant drew the diagram shown in figure 2. The following day I went with the informant to the place where the ŋillatun had been held. He stepped off the distances and the following observations were made: Tracks in the path made by the men on horseback showed that riders had been abreast. The grass of the pərufe was untrodden; a circle around this small area of grass showed that dancing had been done there. Sun shelters, 16 in number, were falling apart (pl. 31, *1* and *2*). Each shelter, approximately 9 by 9 feet and 6 feet in height, was a framework of saplings of various kinds with branches used as windbreaks and shelter from the sun's rays, and each had a fireplace on the edge of it toward the pərufe. Surrounding the fireplace were heavy logs, probably used for seats.)

At some distance, probably 15 yards, many of the men now on horseback ride abreast (also anticlockwise) in close formation, the horses prancing to the rhythm of the music. "This dance of the horses is called küntron." The leader of the men on horseback carries a banner in his left hand with which he also holds the bridle. With his right hand he swings a whip over his head (anticlockwise) in a manner similar to the movements when lassoing, and yells "Ya-ah!" The other men on horseback echo "Ya-ah!" twice. The horseback riders perform the küntron around the complete ellipse, outside the sun shelters, four times. Those within dance the pərun until the küntron has ended.

796 A sheep is next cut open in the vicinity of the heart, and the pulsating heart brought forth and rammed into the tip of one of the four ●782 colihüe. With each heartbeat of the dying sheep, everyone participating in the ŋillatun that can get close enough takes a little of the blood as it squirts from the heart and sprinkles it heavenward—the men first, then the women—"each asking God to help them, now that they are making this sacrifice. Old people say that this is like the sacrifice of Abraham that they are told about today." Children do not sprinkle blood, "but they dance when everybody else dances and are present everywhere during the ŋillatun."

796 After the sprinkling of blood, the leader goes to the fire accompanied by men carrying the sheep. Here the leader smokes a pipe while the lung of the sheep is being cut into small pieces by a young boy. The boy gives pieces of it to about 15 or 20 persons. By now the cap-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

tain and sergeant from the leader's locality have moved, on horseback, to where the sacrificial sheep and hens have been tied. After the leader has finished the pipe, these two men dismount, and while they are doing so, several persons throw pieces of lung toward them. The two men then pray quietly for about 5 minutes, addressing their prayers to chau and to wenemapu fiuke (the woman with chau). "It looks as though these prayers were being addressed to the sun, for the men look directly at the sun." They again mount their horses and ride nearly 50 yards beyond the sun shelters, one carrying a vessel of mudai and the other a pipe filled with tobacco. At this distance they gallop completely around the ellipse of the grounds four times. Each time they come back to the place where the sacrificial animals are tied, pieces of lung are thrown toward them, and all the people yell "Ya-ah!" After the fourth ride is completed, the two men slide off their horses, and each takes a colihüe from the middle of the row at the porufe. With these in their hands both dance around the porufe four times. After this all the participating young men run round the porufe, each one carrying a vessel of mudai, and everyone yells "Ya-ah!"

One-half of the sheep that was sacrificed is consumed in the sacred fireplace; the other half is roasted over the sacred fire and is then divided among the people by the captains and sergeants. The first piece that is cut off the roasted meat is placed at the porufe for chau. All bones left after the flesh has been eaten are burned in the sacred fire (pl. 31, *3*). Great care is always taken that none of them is gotten by dogs. The entrails and hides are buried so close to the fire that dogs will not dig for them. Toward the end of the ceremonial, the tortillas are cut into strips and shared by all; the mudai, too, is consumed by participating persons. This is drunk from wooden tumblers or pottery vessels.

The ceremonial of the second day is merely a repetition of the first day's, except that usually all hens are sacrificed on the second day by being thrown on the fire to be consumed there.

Two old men—one each from a separate locality—act as policemen. "Order must be maintained about the place; there must be no laughing or visiting during the ceremonies." Informants said that the recurrence of the number four has no significance—four is not considered a sacred number. According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 742-743), the rewe at one time was one of the main features of the ñillatun. It was not known to have been used in areas I visited.

The konchitun (sharing a meal of mutton supplied by one of two men) is not a part of the ceremonial, but is an adjunct to it. Formerly it was an expression of sincere mutual friendship between two men

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

778 the yard of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, 5, 6); they step backward and refuse to touch them. Some scold because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

1782 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly. They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kolupan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the ŋoaltun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the ŋoaltun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kolupan demonstrated the ŋoaltun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE ŊILLATUN

1796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ŋillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ŋillatun, or ŋillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "roga-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing.

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, 2), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback.

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (panı or trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shunam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (truli or pūdu or pəʃo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these.

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ibises or bandurria (raki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganzu; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pideñ); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃədu).

Implements used in hunting were the boleodora (l'əkai), the bola perdido, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting.

A boleodora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, 4), a ball was fastened to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 372 The most desirable firewoods are ñire and chacay because they give much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *a*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

[533 782] A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

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kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn. Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil'

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world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are certain gods which control and, in some instances, have created the many natural phenomena. *Nenechen* made and is master of the people; *fienemapun* made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods control specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of *fienechen*. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that *fienechen* was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

The minor gods, while under the control of *fienechen*, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, *kupukafucha* and his wife, *kupukakushe*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and they are beseeched to intercede before *fienechen* on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with *fienechen*, *fienechen* himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche orations and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during *fillatun* which are directed as a congregational enterprise to *fienechen*.

The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is through the intercession of one's lineal ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupukafucha*, the *karuhua*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
•782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[791] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal
[793] may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery
[789] and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power
776 of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[778] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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his ankles, the next day up to the middle of his calf, and so on. When he became stone up to his stomach, he was no longer able to eat and he told the people not to bring him any more meat. He told his people to burn the meat, so that the smoke would rise up to the sky and nourish his spirit, when he turned completely to stone and died. He told them to return to their houses afterward. They did his bidding. 539

Manquiin was turned to stone from head to foot. This stone Manquiin, now a fisherchen, is no longer visible from the shore. The people believe that he is lord of the sea, a fisher of souls and protector of his people. He has much power and we offer him meat every year, when there is fallatun. [782]

Again, this myth attempts to account for a close kinship bond between the local inhabitants, Manquiin's people, and their god of the sea. Manquiin is identified with the pan-Mapuche sea god, *Lafkenfucha*, and appears as a local manifestation of him. There are numerous other accounts of this sort in other regions—coast, valley, and mountains—all of which serve to bring the gods within the system of local filiation and thereby reinforce the traditional sanctions of Mapuche morality. I state this in purposive terms, because to argue whether the concept is or was a conscious fabrication or simply an unconscious development is meaningless to this study. 539 796

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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words:

> Woven together into the great composite of *nillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:118).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory.

In the following pages is a generalized account of *nillatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations were partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors.

A General Description of Nillatun. *Nillatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask favorites and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly a major aspect of *nillatun* is the offering of food to favorites, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although there are not first fruit ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening

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796 24 [782] [178] ...ed grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplementary rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists today the small, family-based *ñillatun*, conducted mainly for nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the prereservation era.

796 622 In the absence of a ritual calendar, *ñillatun* ceremonies are scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concordance and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful *ñillatun*.

796 241 78 [62] Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages, who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a preminary *ñillatun* is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and Anwenken and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A *ñillatun* is considered preminary if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale *ñillatun* will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*awkamañ*: guardian of *awka*) and assistants, as well as pennant leaves; the type of *awka* or main altar to be used; the number of black or white banners which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

796 62 *Ñillatun* is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated by the dominant lineage therein, and jointly participated in by

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jewelry, repair oxcarts, clip and curry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

Shortly before the date set for *ñillatun*, a select group of elders (the designated officials) goes to the *ñillatun* field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret conclave from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the *ramadas* or cubicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of *canelo*, *maqui*, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The *ramadas* are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field; sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the *ramadas*, is considered to be circular, defined usually by the path followed by the *awn* riders.

The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *llañi* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes oxen) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their *ramadas*, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congregation. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced. People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials (*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, although there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

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session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

After the initial prayer is offered in the special language (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

The front of the main altar, before which the head priest stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled.

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

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796 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the
• 782 hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the [776] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

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second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

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in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordinariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore, [794 although there are structural and compositional differences inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_3, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
787 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
• [782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
159 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
756 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated form.

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754 628 578 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [796] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

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Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *füllatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *ñillatun* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *konchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

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by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witnessing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it